1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

Chiefs' Functions

The functions of chiefs both to the northwest and in central California differed sharply from those of the Klamath. 171* 622

On the Northwest Coast proper the authority of a chief was by no means absolute. The commoners were subject to his admonition rather than his will, his direct authority extending hardly beyond his immediate following. Such gifts as they made him were free-will offerings, large as they were, dictated solely by traditional sentiment. While these include almost all articles of food among the Kwakiutl, to the south, as among the Klallam and Snohomish, they were rather such things as were difficult to procure, such as the products of the hunt, and were no more than were given to any respected old man.[870]

The situation on the Columbia river and in coastal Washington and Oregon was different. These chiefs had real authority. Wishram, Quinault,[871] and Coos chiefs were obeyed, their authority being challenged only by the rich. Commoners among Wishram and Coos gave largely from their gains and in return could expect the aid of their chiefs when in distress. The chiefs sat as judges in cases of witchcraft and murder, assessing heavy fines and ordering the culprit killed if he defaulted. Such fines were not theirs but went to the family of the murdered man. They also paid such fines for their followers. What little is known of the Tillamook suggests an identical situation. [692] [682]

This judicial function, with its meting of fines and punishment, made its appearance among the Klamath by way of the Dalles early in the middle of the last century.

Northwestern California shows considerable similarity to western Oregon, but the authority of rich men was slight in comparison and they did not sit as judges. Among the Hupa, Shasta, and presumably their neighbors, they were obeyed because they gave of their store in times of scarcity and paid fines for followers who were in difficulties. The headmen in more southerly Californian groups exercised more formal authority, as the Yuki and Patwin headmen, who may have made decisions of war and directed town activities. In northeastern California (Maidu, Achomawi, Atsugewi) chiefs were much like

[870] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 1333 f.; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 204; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 38.
[871] Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the K M [574] stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 • 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

against a member of another band or tribe, but malevolence or greed, it is thought, may sometimes lead a shaman to compound the illness or death of a fellow bandsman; and sometimes his spirits may act independently of him to bring the same end. Klamath recall with horror the unnatural event which took place in the present decade of the present century, when that suspicion caused a woman to slay her own mother for the fatal bewitchment of her child.

To end a description of the aboriginal life of Klamath and Modoc in this manner is to risk too somber a balance. Loosely structured in society, modest in scale, precariously balanced against the winters, their cultures made possible a good life in which dignity and worth had a place. That those were not, however, the halcyon days sometimes depicted today is intimated by the words spoken in 1873 by the Klamath leader, Henry Blow. If they exaggerate as almost certainly they do, they still possess an essential truth:

> Before the Bostons came there was no law. The strongest man took what he wanted and the man who had the most property and the most friends was the chief. It was a bad country in those times. Some men were bad and took away the property of other men. If a man was poor and had no friends, and had a beautiful squaw, some stronger man would steal his squaw and kill him if he resisted.[21] Might was right in those days and there was much fighting and killing everywhere. If a man was jealous because another was getting rich and had many friends, he would steal into his lodge and kill him when he was asleep, or lay in ambush to kill him as he went by. Those were bad times as we see now, since the Bostons have come and made law to protect every man's rights and property.[22]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

time had come, he summoned his people "to receive his solemn admonishments err [sic] his spirit take flight." Soon recovering, he voiced to the Agency farmer, S. D. Whitemore, the suspicion that the shaman who had cured him, and whose professional charges had stripped him of all his effects, had been in league with the subchiefs to bring about his death; and he requested that the shaman be imprisoned by the military. Later events made it clear that Monchnkasgitk had been a leader in the conspiracy, plotting to take the place of the old chief. Thereupon, Whitemore, then in charge of the Agency, called a council, at which he "stated that it will be highly necessary to consult their, and the government agent, or the change could not be regonized [sic]. . . . I learned that after a lengthy consultation with the indians has [sic] become impressed with the belief that Mosen Kasket and his band have no hostile intentions."[7]

With Agency backing, Lileks once more was restored to a position of relative authority, but his recourse to outside support caused his personal prestige to decline. He thus had to resort increasingly to formal instruments to bolster his power and to implement the changes he sought. When one Spokane Ike slew his child in Jacksonville, Lileks asked that the Agent order all Indians back upon the reservation. Spokane Ike was tried by the Indian court, Lileks presiding, and was fined fifty dollars.

Lileks took readily to the court, and Whitemore reported, "The indians are holding court dayly [sic]. I am not informed of the nature of their cases." O. C. Applegate described one session thus: "A few days ago the Grand Court of Klamath set, Chief LaLakes presiding, and many men were convicted of many crimes. One in particular had stolen a number of women, 20 mink skins and otherwise trampeled [sic] on the rights of his people, he now wears shackles and a heavy log chain and chops wood for La Lakes."[8]

The head chief was by no means an advocate of indiscriminate change. He favored inhumation of the dead, which he had witnessed among the whites in his travels to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The Dalles, over the native practice of cremation; and about 1868 he secured its adoption.[9] On the other hand, when the proposal was made in 1865 to liberate the slaves, Lileks was prominent in voicing his displeasure, undoubtedly backed by

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM MÁḴLAKSAM NÉ-ULAKS.

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[115]

LEGAL CUSTOMS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

GIVEN BY SUBCHIEF DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

E-ukskni nä'd tchí tchía gitá: P'lú laḵí tútasχēnini, nû'ds Dave
Lake-people we thus live here: Blow is chief general, and I Dave
Hill laḵí P'lúash tapí'tan, Lánk-Tchān Dávish tapí'tan, tchē'k tchish Link
Hill am chief to Blow second, Long John Dave after, then too Link
3 River Jack Lánk-Tchánash tapí'tan, Lílu ts.
River Jack Long John after, and Lilu.

Pit River Charley Móatuasham laḵí E-ukshí'.
Pit River Charley of Pit River people is the chief at the Lake.

Ben Littlejohn lálaḵi, Skóntchiesh laḵí Yainakskíshām máḵlaksam.
Ben (and) Littlejohn are the chiefs, Skóntchiesh is (sub-) chief of the Yánaks people.

6 Johnson laḵí Moadoknísham Yaínakshi. George Kuatí'lak ts Módokni
Johnson is chief of Modoc at Yánaks. George Kuatílak also is Modoc
laḵí tapí'tan Jóhnsonash.
chief after Johnson.

Tcháktot Sátam laḵí.
Tcháktot of Snake Indians is chief.

II.

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9 Nánuk laláḵi Ā'-uksi nä'dsant shiû'lgishtat tsí sa hémkank:
All the chiefs on Klamath Lake on one and same reservation thus they speak:

Ḵá-i î shlí-uapk shash: ksaggayuapká m's nî; ḵá-i î palluápk sas
Not you shall shoot each other: would hang you I; not you seduce each other's
snáwedsh: spûlhi-uapká m's nî, hä' î sas pálluapk. Ḵá-i î wátsam tchí'k-
wives: would imprison you I, if you them seduce. Not you a horse shall
12 luapk wännikí'sham; hä'doks î tchíkluapk, spulhi-uapká m's nî. Ḵá-i î
ride of another man; but if you should ride, would imprison you I. Not you
pálluapk sas nánuktua, hä'doks î pálluapk sas spûlhi-uápka m's nî.
shall steal from each other anything, for if you should steal from each other would imprison you I.
(Nánuktua ḵá-i î pálluapk; hä'doks î yekä'-uapk nä'-ulaks, hunkantí'
(Nothing you must steal; for if you should break the laws, thereat
15 m's nî shetcháktanuapk.) Hä'doks î snawä'dsh Bóshtinash shä'tolakuapk,
at you I would get angry.) If you, as a female, with a white man should sleep,
któtchkuapka m's nî. Hä'doks î hä'sχalp'luapk nánuktua shéshatuish m'na,
will cut off hair to you I. If you should have returned to yourself the whole marriage fee his,

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; *cf. Notes* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 825 787 763 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k̲'lékuapksht tchō'k; tχu'-tχuk pákluipka.
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-saging he howls. 3

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht i-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma; tchíkĭ'n tchish hä'masht i-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchēk hä'ma. Wátchag tchĭ'sh wawá-a i-unégshtka, kú-i tchämlûk. 6
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews; the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death them it crows. The dog also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 [682] Watság tchĭ'shtat tχótχa i-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaks, gû'lki ngé-isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchís tû'sht hushtchō'χa, ká-i hûnk shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk ktsĭ'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna hísnuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a tsä'wik. 9
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry taking with them ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quits and is demanded